

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00  
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FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6694  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
USMISSION USNATO

S E C R E T GENEVA 03319

EXDIS

USSALT TWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PARM  
SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON PLENARY, MARCH 2, 1978  
(SALT TWO-1643)

REF: (A) SALT TWO-1645 (B) SALT TWO-1644

1. AT MARCH 2 PLENARY, SEMENOV'S STATEMENT (REFTEL A) SHARPLY CRITICIZED ALLEGED U.S. FAILURE TO ADDRESS UNRESOLVED HEAVY BOMBER ISSUES AND REAFFIRMED BASIC SOVIET POSITIONS ON ARTICLE II.3.
2. MY STATEMENT (REFTEL B) ON DEFINITION OF CRUISE MISSILE RANGE CAPABILITY POINTED OUT ESSENTIAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN SIDES ON MEANING OF TERMS "STANDARD DESIGN MODE" AND "STANDARD FULL-SYSTEM DESIGN MODE," I.E., MANNER IN WHICH CRUISE MISSILE SYSTEMS ARE DESIGNED TO OPERATE IN ORDER TO ACCOMPLISH THEIR TASKS. I NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT SOVIET RANGE MEASUREMENT CRITERION IS IMPRECISE BECAUSE IT DEPENDS ON TERRAIN OVER WHICH MISSILE FLIES AND IS  
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ARBITRARY BECAUSE IT DISCRIMINATES AGAINST HORIZONTAL, BUT NOT VERTICAL MANEUVERS. SEMENOV COMMENTED THAT U.S. UNDERSTANDING OF SOVIET PROPOSAL IS "IMPRECISE."

3. IN POST-PLENARY MEETING, SEMENOV:

-- REAFFIRMED SUBSTANCE OF SOVIET PLENARY STATEMENT ON

HEAVY BOMBERS AND URGED THAT U.S. ADDRESS ALCM CARRIER ISSUE;

-- STATED THAT AS OF JANUARY 1, 1978 THE SOVIET NUMBER FOR HEAVY BOMBERS WAS 156;

-- SAID CONCERNING TYURA-TAM MATTER THAT "THE ICBM LAUNCHERS YOU HAVE REFERRED TO ARE LOCATED AT A TEST RANGE AND ARE TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS" AND THEREFORE NOT SUBJECT TO AGGREGATE LIMITATION.

CONCERNING CRUISE MISSILE RANGE DEFINITION, I NOTED THAT THERE ARE SOVIET CRUISE MISSILES DEPLOYED ON SEA-BASED LAUNCHERS WHICH WOULD BE PROHIBITED BY PROTOCOL ARTICLE III UNDER SOVIET DEFINITION AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, BUT NOT U.S. DEFINITION.

4. ROWNY/BELETSKY

BELETSKY ASKED WHETHER OUR SALT NEGOTIATIONS WERE BEING LINKED TO OTHER INTERNATIONAL EVENTS. ROWNY ANSWERED HE KNEW OF NO LINKAGE, THAT WE WERE PROCEEDING IN GENEVA TOWARD A TREATY AS RAPIDLY AS WE KNEW HOW. ROWNY ADDED THAT CERTAIN HIGH OFFICIALS IN THE U.S. DENIED A LINKAGE BETWEEN SOVIET ACTIONS AND SALT, BUT AT THE SAME TIME NOTED AS "FACT OF LIFE" INCREASING DANGER THAT SOVIET ACTIONS WILL AFFECT POLITICAL ATTITUDES IN THE SECRET

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UNITED STATES.

5. JOHNSON/SHCHUKIN

SHCHUKIN ACKNOWLEDGED THAT NEITHER U.S. NOR SOVIET DEFINITION OF CRUISE MISSILE RANGE COULD BE EXACT; HOWEVER, HE STILL FELT THAT THE SOVIET ONE WAS BETTER. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE EXACTNESS OF THE RANGE DEFINITION WAS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT FOR THE 600 KM MISSILES. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT VERIFICATION PROCEDURES BY NTM MIGHT NOT SUFFICE FOR CRUISE MISSILES. JOHNSON SUGGESTED THAT PERHAPS IN THE FUTURE SOME KIND OF COOPERATIVE MEASURES MIGHT HELP.

6. PEREZ-MCNEILL/KARPOV-SMOLIN

RE ARTICLE XVI KARPOV INDICATED DESIRE FOR ADDITIONAL EXEMPTION OF SINGLE ICBM LAUNCHES FROM OPERATIONAL SITES WHICH IMPACTED IN NORMAL ICBM IMPACT AREA, I.E., KAMCHATKA. KARPOV SAID THAT WITH THIS ADDITIONAL EXCEPTION SOVIETS COULD ACCEPT U.S. PROPOSAL FOR ARTICLE XVI; WITHOUT IT HE COULD NOT ENVISAGE AGREEMENT. PEREZ AND MCNEILL

REJECTED IDEA OF SUCH AN ADDITIONAL EXCEPTION.

7. NEXT MEETING THURSDAY, MARCH 9. EARLE

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## Message Attributes

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**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
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**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
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